THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

Vol. VI.—No. 12 SATURDAY, JUNE 14th, 1919 Price Twopence.

A MESSENGER FROM MOSCOW.

The Soviet Armies are winning on all fronts. There is no prospect of the fall of Petrograd.

People are no longer starving in Petrograd and Moscow.

Production is so much greater and more efficient under Communism than under the old haphazard order of private capitalism, that the competition of Soviet Russia will eventually force the other nations to adopt Communism.

There is no longer an unemployed problem in Russia, and great progress has been made in building up the Communist life.

This news, with the evidence supporting it, was brought to us by a comrade, a Soviet member who left Moscow so recently as May 20, 1919.

"First," said he, "you will want to know the military position; how the forces of the Soviet Government are coping with the attacks of the Allies and counter-revolutionaries." He went on to explain with great patience and in detail the exact position on all fronts tracing the progress of the armies upon the map.

THE UKRAINE.

In the Ukraine the forces of Skorapadski were superseded by those of Petlura who was a little more democratic. His forces have been beaten by the Bolsheviki and he now possesses merely some small bands which are in Vohynia. The Hetman Gregorieff joined the Soviet Red Army, then took his troops over to the reactionaries and occupied part of the Ukraine, but was beaten by the Red Army. The forces of the Allied capitalists have now been driven from the Ukraine. The French soldiers there disliked fighting the Red Army; they respond readily to propaganda appeals on behalf of the Workers' Government of Russia.

The victorious Soviet forces of the Ukraine have passed through Bessarabia and crossed the Russian frontier near Kishinev, on their way, no doubt, to assist the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The importance of winning the Ukraine for the Soviets cannot be overestimated, for it has opened to North Russia a great storehouse of food and natural wealth.

GENERAL DENIKIN.

The last forces of Denikin are retiring from the Crimea; pushed further and further Eastward they remain only in the neighbourhood of Kertch.

GENERAL KRASNOV IN THE DON COSSACK REGION.

General Krasnov is fighting in the Don Cossack region; he was recently at Tsaritsin in the province of Sararatov, but, beaten by the Soviet forces which are assailing him both from the west and the north east, he is being forced to retire to the southern edge of the Don province in the neighbourhood of Novo Tcherkask.

GENERAL DUTOV IN THE ORENBURG PROVINCE.

General Dutov is fighting a losing battle in the Orenburg Province and is retiring before the Red Army.

KOLTCHAK.

Koltchak's army is regarded by the Soviets as the most formidable force arrayed against them. Koltchak is a man of energy; his army is well organised and supported by some of the richer peasants. Moreover the Volga region, in which he is, is exceedingly fertile, Saratov and Samara, between which the Volga passes, are rich in agricultural produce: indeed, after the Ukraine, this is the most important food district of Russia. The river itself is valuable as a means of transport, boats travelling upon it can carry goods to Nishni-Novgorod and to within easy distance of Moscow.

In the beginning of May Koltchak made a swift advance and established himself on a line reaching from Samara, to Kazan, Viatka and Perm. Fresh Soviet troops were sent from other fronts to reinforce the Red Army opposing him. In the middle of May he sustained a defeat and retired as quickly as he had advanced; to Tchistopol; to Bugulma; by May 20th he was pushed back to a line between Belbei and Perm, between 200 and 250 miles behind his recent advance.

THE NORTHERN FRONTS.

The armies invading Russia from the north are not regarded by the Soviets as dangerous; the Red Armies merely hold them in check, and occupy a defensive attitude, since it is thought inadvisable to send further Red troops against them.

OLONETZ.

The so-called Finnish volunteers are at Olonetz and are really organised by the Finnish Government. The Soviets regard them as unimportant.

PETROGRAD.

There is no fighting near Petrograd and the position of the city is not regarded as dangerous. Though it is of no strategic importance it would not be surrendered without a determined struggle: it is well defended.

ESTHONIA.

The counter-Revolutionary army in Esthonia is regarded as more dangerous than the Finnish volunteers, though the statement that the Esthonians had taken Gatchina is untrue, but the Letts took Jamburg. Pskov which had been reported taken also remained in the hands of the Soviets up to May 20th. Riga was also held by the Soviets.

THE POLISH ADVANCE.

Vilna, however, had fallen to the Poles, who had killed all the Soviet officials. Polish troops had advanced as far as Sventsyany, but the Soviets do not regard the Polish offensive as dangerous because they believe that the Poles will only advance into territory which they wish to annex to Poland. It is not anticipated that the Poles will attempt to advance much further than they have done.

The Greeks are regarded by the Soviets as mere operatic soldiers. The English and Americans are considered formidable, because they fight as though fighting were a trade, the French are most influenced by Soviet propaganda.

THE SOVIET IDEA AND THE ORIENT.

We asked whether the upheaval in Afghanistan has been influenced by the Bolsheviki. The Soviet messenger replied that the Russians had had no direct hand in the matter, but that the Afghans are influenced by the Soviet idea.

The Soviet idea meets with great response in the Orient. All the Asiatic nations were represented in the Conference of the Third International at Moscow.

CHINESE SOLDIERS IN RED ARMY.

We repeated to our comrade the already exploded story of Lenin's Red Guard, which has been denied by so many reliable witnesses from Russia. Our comrade told us that there are Chinese soldiers in the Red Army because there are Chinese living in Russia and because the Soviet Republic makes no race distinctions between its citizens.

HONOURS.

Rise Sir Bounderley Moneybag! A Profiteer is never without honour in his own country.

[*New Version.*

GERMANS FIGHTING IN RUSSIA.

We asked whether German troops are fighting with the Soviet Armies. He replied that not a single German officer is fighting for the Soviets though proletarians of all nationalities are to be found in the Red Army. The Communists only make prisoners of officers. When rank and file soldiers from the opposing armies are captured they are released, and allowed either to return to their native countries or to remain as free citizens and equals of the Soviet Republic. The story that the Red Army kills prisoners of war is untrue.

Again we repeated one of the charges made against the Soviets: "Does the Red Army use poison gas?" "No, I do not think we have used it," said our comrades. "Have you aeroplanes?" we asked him. He said: "Yes, we have aeroplanes: indeed, the Russian Soviet Republic communicates with the Hungarian Soviet Republic by aeroplane." "Is there a screen of smoke and fire around Petrograd?" we asked, and he said: "No, there is not."

We asked whether it is true that the Russian Soviet Republic has given capitalistic concessions to Allied capitalists. Our comrade replied that some concessions had been made in regard to some forests in the North. In judging such reports he urged us to bear in mind that the Soviets will make no concessions which interfere with the internal administration and the life of the people. During the Brest-Litovsk negotiations offers of assistance were received from the Allies, on conditions which in some respects would have interfered in internal affairs. Russia refused these offers at the risk of being conquered by the Germans, because to have accepted them would have been to sacrifice the whole principle and possibility of maintaining the Socialist community. Therefore, whilst the Soviets will concede as much as possible to outside powers, in order to secure peace, not the smallest concession will be made which would give the slightest opportunity for capitalist interference in internal affairs.

(Continued on page 1363.)

TIGHT BINDING.

THE FINANCIAL ORGANISATION OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

PART II.

At the first Congress of the Northern District of Russia N. N. Krestinskyi, the People's Commissary for Finance, gave the following report on his four months' work, and outlined the financial plans of the Soviet Government.

The breathing spell after the Brest-Litovsk Peace corresponded with a period of feverish constructive work in the economic field. We felt that the noose thrown round our neck by the Brest Treaty could be thrown off only by way of economic reconstruction.

It became necessary to create a uniform machinery of banking. To this end we liquidated unnecessary credit institutions, uniting such institutions as had to be retained with the People's Bank, in order to establish a uniform cash accounting machinery of the Republic. A decree was issued for the liquidation of mutual credit associations, which were growing in number because at first the People's Bank did not work smoothly, but which are absolutely unnecessary under the reconstructed economic life of the country. A decree was also made for the winding up of municipal banks. There remained the Treasury Departments, the Savings Banks, and the Moscow People's Bank.

The development of the Moscow People's Bank commands our special attention. This bank was extending credit to co-operative associations working in harmony with the Soviet power and filling gaps in the work of the Commissariat for Supplies. After the nationalisation of private banks, however, it began to flourish on bourgeois accounts, and became a speculative bank, hoarding paper currency and supplying money liberally to the bourgeoisie, who had difficulty in getting it from the Soviet People's Bank. Thus the Moscow People's Bank assumed a position hostile to the Soviet Power. Its nationalisation became a necessity. The free opening of branches of the bank was therefore stopped; and it was made obligatory to deposit all Government funds in the People's Bank, to which the Soviet institutions and the nationalised industries now transferred their funds. At the same time, in the Petrograd and Northern Districts, counter activity to the Moscow Bank was organised and a section for financing the co-operatives was attached to the Soviet People's Bank. The Moscow Bank could not meet the demand for the return of Government deposits, and, of its own accord, initiated negotiations for nationalisation. The Moscow People's Bank has now been nationalised.

We believe that our banking machinery will take the following shape:—

A Central People's Bank with a network of branches in the provinces.

In the capitals the bank is divided into sections corresponding with the branches of national economy under its care:—

1. *State Exchequer*, arranging for all State revenues and expenditures based on the budgets of the various institutions.

2. *Nationalised Industry*, financing the industries, supplying them with funds for equipment, and receiving the money derived from the sale of their products.

3. *Supplies.*—Providing the expenses of the Commissariat for Supplies and receiving the corresponding sums from the population.

4. *Railways.*—Financing the railways.

5. *Co-operatives.*—Arranging for the co-operative organisations along the lines of consumption, production, agriculture, and credit.

6. *Personal Accounts.*—The guiding consideration in creating this section was the belief that after the provisions of the ten billion tax had been applied the majority of current bourgeois accounts would be extinguished, but small accounts, representing the tiny savings of working people would remain. These are the accounts which will be called "personal" and be placed in charge of this section. When salaries are paid in commodities the record of commodities given out will also be kept in this section.

7. *Foreign.*—This section is probably of a temporary character and will arrange for sending out the bills for the commodities exchanged with the capitalists of foreign countries over whatever period and to whatever extent this may prevail.

8. *Insurance.*—To this section will be transferred all insurance operations in bulk, the technical side of the business being left with the various administrative institutions.

Such are the immediate organisation problems of the banking department. The plan for the various sections has been outlined and its realisation will soon be complete. On the anniversary of the nationalisation of banks it will in all probability be possible to issue a decree winding up all former banking institutions and creating a uniform Central People's Bank, the constitution of which will be published simultaneously. This bank will be the framework on which the economic structure of Soviet Socialist Russia will be built.

This is the programme for the capitals. In the provinces we expect the work to be taken up with a harmony which will yield the greatest results with the least expenditure of energy.

Financial activity should be sharply divided into two sections:—

1. Questions of taxation in the broad sense of the word.

The problems of taxation on an All-Russian scale are not fully solved. The machinery of taxation will only be completed when the new taxes are finally drafted. The ten billion tax, which constitutes a boundary line between the new and the old systems, will be the touchstone for future policy and presents an opportunity of a fresh survey of the taxation question. A wide field is opened for local initiative and activity, which will afford the means of accumulating information in the capitals for incorporation in various measures.

2. The People's Bank, which must, on the contrary, retain a uniform general character. In the domain of banking strong centralisation must, of necessity, be the rule, in order to secure complete uniformity to the State financial system. Local financial bodies may, and should, exercise control over the branches of the People's Bank; but any measure concerning the financial system, as such, and, still more, the principles underlying it, may be carried out in the various localities, only with the knowledge and approval of the central power. Plans dealing with basic questions may be drafted, but their execution is only admissible after receiving the sanction of the central power.

The position of taxation has now undergone a radical change. The old system can now find no justification. The indirect taxation, which remained after the old direct taxes had been abolished, is also changing its character now. In so far as the product of industry becomes the property of the State; its taxation for the benefit of the State would be fictitious. Instead of taxing the product, it would be easier to sell it, and turn over the proceeds to the State. The State should exist on the proceeds of the product produced by the State. At the present moment we must take into account the fact that not all industry belongs completely to the State.

In the future the entire system of State economy will be built without money circulation, especially if the revolution should spread to other countries; but that remains for the future.

Just now we are budgetting with a considerable deficit. Many viewed the deficit as a disastrous omen, believing that all energies should be strained to avoid a deficit and that expenditure should be cut down in all directions. That is a mistake. In the transition period of revolution, through which we are now passing, deficits are unavoidable. We must expend immense sums on the organisation of socialised industry. Great expenditure is also necessary for the war and for the support of the proletariat in foreign countries. At the same time sources of revenue are diminishing simultaneously with the liquidation of the capitalist class.

In drafting our budget, we must be very careful not to reduce expenses which are productive or necessary to our real wants, though we must see to it that our expenditure is in accord with expediency and limited to real necessities. Every essential expense which will result in the acquisition of necessary material must be met, because by the creation of material wealth we are moving towards the wiping out of the deficit.

We have taken possession of productive capital; but there exists also financial capital. There is a great quantity of paper money in the country. We know how much of it was issued; how much is in the People's Bank and in the Government Treasury. To be on the safe side we may deduct something for notes now in the Ukraine, in Siberia, and in the Volga district. When all allowances have been made we know that there are from 25 to 30 billion of these notes still in Russia, most of them put to no productive use. We therefore considered it possible to introduce a large income tax to swallow up all this unproductive money. This experiment could not have been carried out in a capitalist country. Even here we shall probably have recourse to such a tax but once more, because by its imposition we annul the unproductive money which its object is to secure, preserving only the money which is used in a productive way.

This 10 billion roubles tax was adopted in haste and divided amongst the various provinces in a rather superficial manner because of the incompleteness of the statistical data available. The term was problematical owing to the difficulties of the time, the great distances to be covered, and some irregularity in the mails, but towards the middle of November telegrams began to arrive telling of the effect of the tax, with some requests for an extension of the period for collecting it. Where such requests were made with reason extensions of from two weeks to a month were granted. Extensions were granted to Kazan, Kostroma, North Dvina, and Mohilev provinces, to the city of Kyazin and the county of Buzuluk. A considerable prolongation was granted to the city Saratov.

Later on came requests for the reduction or removal of the tax. Several such requests came from the Volost communities, from one or two counties, and from two provinces. The Commissariat for Finance did not consider itself competent to deal with the requests coming from the Volost Committees, for these came within the jurisdiction of the provincial executive committees, which, if they considered the request to be reasonable, might reduce the amount of the assignment without redistributing it among the other parts of the province. Two provinces, Kursk and Kazan, were granted a reduction of the amounts required of them.

After a time further inquiries were received: whether it was admissible to transfer the tax to a current account; whether the tax referred to subjects of foreign countries; how to levy the tax on Soviet workers having incomes of more than 1,500 roubles a month. In the opinion of the Commissary for Finance the clause dealing with the income of Soviet workers is, on the whole, a failure. Experience has shown that it creates misunderstandings; for the peasants who are subject to taxation cannot help considering the salaries of Soviet workers, who are exempted from taxation, extremely high.

The reports from various localities prove clearly that the tax is being realised. This tax is the touchstone of the Soviet power, by which its structure in the financial field will be tried. In reconstructing our financial machinery, we compel it, at the same time, to perform that great and serious work which requires penetration into the depths of the population. This tax will serve also as a measure of discipline. It is the first general State tax levied in the provinces for two years, and, despite some unpleasant possible, even hostile, relations with the taxpayer, it creates a consciousness of State power. Moreover, by absorbing paper money from the populace, it raises its value in the Exchequer.

Thus from being a declaratory tax, which it was first assumed to be, it has become a real tax. As a matter of fact, it is unwise to resort to declaratory taxes, for the collapse of a declaratory tax would mean bankruptcy.

(Continued on page 1359.)

I should like to couple the ten billion rouble tax with another tax levied on the same day. This is a tax in kind; a toll on the product of agriculture. Its operations have not yet begun owing to certain technical difficulties.

The grain supply campaign is still underway and a considerable part of the peasantry is delivering grain to the Commissariat for Supplies. The Supreme Council of National Economy proposed that the tax should not be applied this year to peasants who present certificates showing they have made a voluntary delivery of grain, but that no indulgences should be given to those not possessing such certificates. The decree on agricultural tolls was therefore amended to that effect by the Central Executive Committee. Consequently the toll will apply only to part of the northern district.

It is not easy to seize hidden money. The decree making book keeping compulsory would remain a dead letter under present conditions. The only way to enforce it is to enforce the exchange of paper money. We shall now adopt this measure, but it will not be accompanied by depreciation, because that would strike those who have moderate savings as well as the rich. It would mean a proportional, but not a progressive tax. We shall issue new money and announce the date for the surrender of the old. In exchange for small sums new paper money will be issued to the full amount. If the cash of any person exceed the limit fixed, he will receive a certain minimum in cash and the rest will be added to his current account.

Later on we shall have recourse to a new surgical operation and on the bourgeoisie of the Soviet area a new special tax will be levied. For technical reasons this measure will be difficult to carry out, but it has an important political aspect.

A part of Russian territory is not at present under the Soviet power. It is imperative that we advance successfully into the Ukraine, in order that all paper currency may be surrendered to the People's Bank and for the final consolidation of the Soviet power.

In concluding my speech let me dwell for a moment upon the connection between this moment of transition we are living through and the deficit on the budget.

After the completion of a cycle of economic measures money will be abolished and replaced by natural exchange. We shall not be dismayed if the worth of the rouble falls to nothing, but we must maintain ourselves until that time. The Russian workers and peasants believe in the strength of our economic organism: our immediate neighbours do not doubt its power. Some are made glad, others angry, by the unpreventable victory of the Soviet Socialist power in Russia.

The deficit shown in our budget is arrived at by an erroneous computation. No receipts from national industries have been indicated: these will certainly amount to 3 billion roubles. Three billion roubles are assigned, as a circulating fund [advance for working expenses ?], to the Commissariat of Supplies. This sum for circulating expenditure may be dismissed as a mere temporary deficit. Several items of expenditure were inserted in the budget for the first six months of the year. That budget was approved only at the end of the year. The items in question were transferred to the budget of the second six months because on August 31st all credits and assignments were closed. Thus it came about that these items were quoted twice to the extent of a further three billions, which should be deducted from the deficit. The real deficit is therefore only about seven billions, which is smaller than the deficit of 1917, which was lived through under the governments of the Czar and Kerensky.

In November we asserted, in our comments on the budget, that there was no ground for pessimism regarding finance. Now with the whole world in commotion and on the eve of revolution, we are still more justified in our confidence that we shall carry on till the world revolution comes.

[This speech appears to have been delivered in December, 1918.]

KOLTCHAK'S VICTORIES AND THE 'CHANGE SHARKS.

By a French Correspondent.

The danger to Soviet Russia is by no means past. Trade Unionists are making munitions and loading them on ships bound north and south of the coast of Russia. The Labour Party, that had time and money to protest against the Brest-Litovsk Peace, is silent now that the indemnity paid by the Bolsheviki to the then victorious Germans has been safely transferred to the Allied coffers in Paris. Yet, in spite of all the stories Koltchak's victories must be taken with the traditional pinch of salt, and the "working of the wires" must be observed. There was the King of Montenegro (who ruled over a kingdom with a population less than a London borough) who had often a jolly little war on, the skin of his subjects not entering in his calculations, and who used to be "bear" or "bull" according to the fall or rise on stocks, caused by his patriotic wars. There are people about now, in France and elsewhere, similarly piling up good and decent fortunes, thanks to Koltchak's victories. Koltchak, to some people, is as good as Marconi.

The danger to Soviet Russia is not past: Socialism in arms, fighting, active Socialism, for that is the meaning of Bolshevism, and Capitalism in its full exploiting power, cannot peacefully live side by side: one or the other must go down, or be greatly modified. The soul of our capitalists, which as Tom Mann said, resides below their belts, is smarting because the Soviets have refused to pay the debts of the Czar's regime: that in itself is enough to have prompted intervention.

Besides the loss on these Russian State securities, there is the loss of Allied money invested in Russian companies. That is where Koltchak, his victories and his recognition come in. Shares in Russian companies, private property being abolished, are useless and worthless scraps of paper, but may also, with the assistance of a few victories, if they are cleverly managed, afford a decent living. See how the "recognition" of Koltchak has affected the Paris Bourse and Industrial shares and quotations in francs: Briansk rising from 270 to 278; Maltzoff from 434 to 458; Taqaurog from 275 to 310; Sosnonvince Tubes from 408 to 442; Petrograd Wagons from 132 to 147; Druepron from 1.620 to 1.730. Oil shares are still more affected: Baku from 1.320 to 1.400; Lianosoff from 290 to 315; Naptha from 284 to 324; Russian oil from 41 to 54.50.

The Paris Bourse does not prophesy an early fall of the Soviet regime for these shares rise but slightly in spite of Koltchak's victories and his recognition by the Allies. Russian State Securities: Consolidated from 46 to 47; the 5 per cent from 57.50 to 59.50; the 4 per cent from 49 to 50.

Good, honest Tommy, who has never passed Leicester Square by night, volunteers for Russia to fight Trotsky who has "nationalised women:" someone far cleverer than he, in Paris and elsewhere, fattens his banking account, meanwhile. Champagne is not brewed; Leicester Square girls are "private" property, but were once factory hands.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist (or Third) International issues the following manifesto against the Peace Treaty of Versailles:—

The Governments, that five years ago let loose a world-wide war of plunder and piracy, have presented the so-called Peace Terms to the representatives of German capitalism at Versailles. Every paragraph of that Treaty is a slip-knot that will strangle either this or that people. The Allied capitalists desire to cripple their German competitors.

The Imperialists of the Alliance have begun a punitive expedition against the Soviet Republic of Hungary: they have sent barbarous hordes against Buda-Pest; they have inspired the "Black Hundreds" of Koltchak, of Denikin, of Krasnov in their bloody fight against the workers and peasants of Russia. They have suppressed the Bavarian Soviet Republic of Munich; they have disarmed the revolutionary troops of Bulgaria; they have stifled the popular revolutionary movement in Serbia and in Slavonia.

Few indeed are the workers who can still believe in the "Society of Nations."

The working class of Germany, the workers and the Communists of all countries will understand that the Peace Treaty of Versailles is a blow aimed directly at the labouring class of the world, a blow that can only be averted by the united forces of the workers of all nations.

The party of Scheidemann and Ebert, since the first days of the German Revolution, has danced to the tune played by Clemenceau. The Government of Scheidemann, obeying the orders sent out by the ruling class of London and of Paris, has already killed thousands of German Communist workers. Every time that the tide of revolutionary movement in Germany grows in strength and power, and every time that the famine-stricken workers attempt to establish in that country the Soviet Republic, the Allied Governments refuse a morsel of bread to the German people.

Workers of France, of England, of America, of Italy, of Germany, and of Austria, class-conscious workers the world over, we trust that you will do your duty. The emancipation of the oppressed lies in the International Revolution of the workers. From the lesson of Versailles will arise the working-class dictatorship.

Down with the Peace Treaty! All hail to the Soviet rule!

The President of the General Executive Committee of Communist International,

Zinoviev.

When the King and Queen of Roumania visited Grosswardein in the territory seized from the Hungarian Soviets by the Roumanian army, they were welcomed by "Hungarian notabilities"—another evidence of the international class war against working-class Socialism!

SOVIET "UNITED STATES OF THE ORIENT."

Reuter reports that the Russian Soviet Government is endeavouring to create a Soviet Republic to be called the United States of the Orient, and is to include Turkey, Persia, Algeria, Morocco, and India. This is a splendid idea.

POLISH PROGROM AGAINST JEWS.

The Zionist organisation from its Copenhagen Bureau sends a terrible report of a pogrom executed by Poles upon the Jews at Vilna. On April 19th Polish troops occupied the railway station, and the soldiers began plundering Jewish houses and shops the same day. "On April 22nd when the town was completely freed of Red Guards, the shooting of Jews began." Hundreds of people were killed. On April 28th when further Polish troops arrived the cruelties recommenced. £6,000,000 worth of damage was done. The Jews are boycotted: it is forbidden to sell them bread, and they cannot fetch from elsewhere as they are forbidden to cross the bridges.

The Poles are recognised by the Allies who are supposed to be intervening in Russia to prevent atrocities!

THE GERMAN MARKET.
Free Trade Scrapped.

Der Bund (Swiss Socialist organ), May 22nd, publishes a statement of a Swiss merchant in Saxony that a big trade in English and French textiles is now being carried on in Frankfort, and that 100,000 metres of cotton materials have been brought into Germany under the Allied control of imports. Textiles are also being imported from Alsace and the transactions are carried on in letters bearing the French Censor's stamp. Whilst the Allies are thus trading with vanquished Germany no imports from neutral countries are allowed. The writer is able to produce documentary evidence of his statements.

LLOYD GEORGE A MODERN ATTILA.

In the course of his "To Berlin" speech, the Prime Minister said, "We must carry out *the edict of Providence*, and see that the people who inflicted this shall never be in a position to do so again." This is reminiscent of the fifth century when Attila, King of the Huns, proclaimed himself to be "God's Scourge." Posterity will certainly consider the methods adopted by the Entente for carrying out the "edict of Providence" rather Hunnish.

Der Bund of May 23rd reports that the Lithuanian mission in Berne protests against the Polish occupation of a considerable part of the country and of its capital Vilna. The Poles are murdering and plundering the population, and the anti-Jewish pogroms are worse than those in the middle ages.

BRIBES AGAINST THE SOVIETS.

Correspondents to *The Times* advocate the retention of Scotch salted herrings to be sent to Russia, but only to those parts of Russia where the Soviets have been overthrown.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

EDITOR: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Published by the Communist Party

Annual Subscription - Post Free, 10s. 10d.

Back Numbers, 4½d, post free.

MSS. should be addressed to the Editor at 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3

All business communications to the MANAGER, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

Vol. VI., No. 12. Sat., June 14th, 1919.

MACDONALD AND BUXTON APPEAL TO ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Roden Buxton have gone to Italy to appeal to the Italian Socialist Party to leave the Third International (the Moscow International), with which it has just allied itself, and to return to the Second or Berne International.

Many Socialists in Britain desire to work with the Third International, and strongly dissent from this appeal to the Italian Socialist Party to return to the Second International. These Socialists received the decision of the Italian Socialist Party to join the Third International with very great pleasure and would experience deep regret if the Italians should recede from it.

The *Avanti* reports Mr. MacDonald as saying that before leaving the Second International we should attempt to conquer it, and that the Berne Conference did not condemn the Bolsheviki, but merely decided to send a Commission of Enquiry to Russia. We think, however, that all who impartially read the Branting Resolution, which received the support of the majority at the Berne Conference, will agree that this resolution was a condemnation, and a very serious condemnation of the Russian Bolsheviki and of the Russian Soviet Republic. M. Longuet, who accompanied Messrs. MacDonald and Buxton, put forward at Berne, another resolution, which, though it did not definitely support the Bolsheviki and the Soviet Government, at least refused to condemn them. The British Section, including Mr. MacDonald, did not support M. Longuet's resolution, but that of Branting, the majority resolution. It therefore seems strange to find Mr. MacDonald speaking of "conquering the Second International" since, on the question of Russia, he belongs to the majority.

We think it important that our Italian comrades, who were not present at Berne, and who are perhaps unaware of the position taken up by the British Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party and Mr. MacDonald, should understand that the appeal coming from them, comes from the Berne Majority Section, not from the Minority, not from the Section which was farthest to the left.

Some people may find it at times convenient to speak, not from the standpoint of their own party, but from the standpoint of the party which they are trying to convince; but such a tactic places at a disadvantage persons who are not fully informed. Mr. MacDonald is reported by the *Avanti* as saying that the British workers will be happily impressed if he is able to return with the assurance that the Italian Socialist Party will place its strength at the service of the Second International, to defend the Russian Revolution and the Socialist Programme, and that it is important to save the Russian Revolution, quite apart from the particular form of organisation and specific actions adopted by the Bolsheviki, because if the Socialist Republic is allowed to fall, Socialism will fall with it.

Such a statement reads very curiously to those of us who have been endeavouring to convert the British Socialist and Labour Movement to the Soviet idea, and to support the Russian Soviet Government. Mr. Henderson, Mr. Thomas, and the majority of the leaders of the Labour Party, are still declaring that the Bolsheviki are everything that is bad. Mr. Henderson made a special friend of M. Kerensky, introduced him to the Labour Party Conference and secured him a hearing, though he came to this country to appeal for Intervention against the Socialist Republic. The Inter-Allied Socialist and Labour Conference, held in London, in which the British Labour Party had a clear majority of votes, set the seal of its approval upon the Allied Intervention in Russia. Mr. MacDonald at that time in no wise dissented from this attack on the Bolsheviki and the Soviet Government. He stated in *The Labour Leader* that the intervention of the Allies, in order to establish a middle Coalition Block would not be an unmixed evil. He, too, supported Kerensky and quite recently was referring (in *The Glasgow Forward*) to a friendly meeting he had just had with Tchaykovsky.

Now, Mr. MacDonald is entitled to his own opinion: he is entitled to freedom of thought like other people: but it would be a great mistake if the Italian Comrades, the Swiss Comrades, and others hesitating in regard to joining the Second or Third International, should give weight to his arguments, as coming from one who is convincingly fighting with them in their effort to establish an International Federation of Soviet Republics.

When the *Avanti* reports Mr. MacDonald as saying that to allow the Socialist Republic to fall, is to allow Socialism to fall. We conclude that the reporter must have misunderstood him, as he has again and again stated that he is not in agreement with the Socialist Republic and the Socialist Regime as inaugurated by the Bolsheviki in Russia.

Mr. MacDonald is reported as saying that the British proletariat will be happily impressed if he is able to say that the Italian Socialist Party has been brought back to the Second International. This is a matter of opinion, but we must express our view that whilst the majority of British workers takes no interest in any Socialist International whatsoever, the majority of that class-conscious minority which desires a Socialist International, prefers the Third International.

We repeat that this is a matter of opinion, but we assert with confidence that if this is not the case already, it will be so in the very near future, for the tendency among the class-conscious workers is moving more and more towards the Socialist Republic on Russian lines.

Mr. MacDonald is reported in the *Avanti* as predicting that at the next General Election, the present Government will be defeated and that a middle group will secure a powerful majority. From his use of the term "middle group" we conclude that Mr. MacDonald believes this majority will include non-Socialists and members of the capitalist Liberal Party. We think there is no doubt, and we believe Mr. MacDonald would not hesitate to admit, that his hopes are mainly placed on what would be done by such a "middle group": but we do not believe that that is the case with the Italian Socialist Party which has so recently joined the Third International. We believe that the hope of the Italian Socialist Party lies with the class-conscious awakened proletariat. To those who hold Mr. MacDonald's view, the Second International is probably acceptable, but to those who place their faith in the Soviets and the Proletariat, only a Socialist Organisation on the lines of the Third International can suffice.

So long as the issue is clear, we have no doubt of the final decision of the Italian Socialist Party.

If the Italian Socialist Party should decide to discard the Third International, in the belief that the British Section is about to put up a fight to conquer the Second International and to make its complexion as red as that of the Third, it would make a very serious mistake. We wish to tell the Italian Socialist Party, with all the emphasis possible, that the British Labour Party is, as yet, very far from embracing the ideals of the Third International. In the Labour Party and the I.L.P. which is overwhelmingly the largest of the three Socialist societies affiliated to the British Section (Socialist bodies further to the left than the I.L.P., B.S.P. and Fabian Society are not included), the majority of the leaders who control the policy of these parties, are opposed to the Soviets, to the Bolsheviki and to the Third International. Not a single one of those who formed the British Section at Berne is a supporter of the Russian Soviets. How then will the British Section aid in capturing the Second International for Bolshevism? Knowing Mr. R. MacDonald and his views, we can only say that he is not the man to do it because he is not himself convinced that Revolution and the Soviet form of Government are right things to work for. If the Italian comrades will question him on this point, we are sure he would admit this, since his whole propaganda in this country is opposed to the course which the Bosheviki and Soviets have followed in Russia.

We are glad to know that the Swiss Socialist Party has refused to discuss the question of returning to the Second International, and in spite of the British delegates, adheres firmly to the Third.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS MAKES WAR ON SOVIETS.

The Times, June 10th, reports:—

At noon, yesterday, 700 British, Canadian, and Australian troops left Leith for the Murmansk coast on board the ex-German merchantman, Steigerwald, flying the League of Nations flag. The passengers included the Russian general and staff and French and Italian officers.

This news justifies our repeated warning that the League of Nations is a capitalist combination which will be used to fight Socialism in all lands. The Berne Conference, the British Labour Party, the I.L.P., and all the forces of the Second International, have supported the League of Nations. Now what have they to say? What protest will they make?

Will they call National and International Conferences to protest against this body which they have popularised, being used in the new war against the Workers' Republics?

Will they now recognise the need for industrial action; the only powerful action open to the working class?

The old official leaders of the Socialist and Labour Movement have been deaf and blind to the obvious massing of the capitalist forces; they have been altogether lacking in foresight; they possess no gifts of leadership; they are but a drag on the workers. Surely the workers' movement should realise that now and act for itself. The Conference to be held in London on June 14th gives an opportunity for action, the Southport Conference on June 22nd and the Labour Party Conference on June 23rd present further opportunities. If a strike, even of moderate dimensions, were started to-day, and in progress on June 22nd and 23rd, it would goad the Triple Alliance and the Labour Party towards industrial action; it would throw into relief the futility and servility of the elements which refuse to act.

Ramsay MacDonald, according to press reports, has agreed to support the proposals of the Italian socialists for a 24-hours general strike. If the reports are true he should feel himself bound to support the proposal at Southport.

But, though we should like to see the 24-hours demonstration strike, and believe that it would be valuable as an experiment in organisation, it would be after all only a demonstration. Only the potentiality of extended action can really effect anything.

TRANSPORT WORKERS' FUTILE CONFERENCE.

The Transport Workers' Federation at its Annual Conference, defeated Havelock Wilson on the question of a Conscription Resolution by 213,000 to 67,000, and on his opposition to the International Transport Workers' Federation by 218,000 to 72,000; it also condemned the Churchill circular; but it contented itself with mere resolutions and was therefore futile.

THE INDIAN REFORM BILL.

Mr. Montagu, in introducing the Bill which was supposed to give self-government to India, indulged in much big talk respecting it; but a study of its actual contents reveals the fact that it will not change the essentially despotic character of the Government of India. He denounced the Indo-British Association as reactionary; nevertheless his Bill is framed in conformity with the ideas of the Indo-British Association and other reactionary forces, and is in painful contrast even to his professions of Liberal faith. As Communists we recognise that Parliamentary Government on Liberal lines, even on an adult suffrage basis, is not really democratic and keeps the mass of the people enslaved, but this Indian Reform Bill does not even approach what is known as Parliamentary Government in Europe. The franchise it offers to the people of India is far behind even that which the Czar of Russia allowed to the Russian peasants. Moreover it does not give any part in the central government of India, or in government matters of major importance to the Chamber elected upon even this narrow fussy franchise.

The Indian National Congress and all India Muslim League have put forward a scheme for Indian self-government as an alternative to the Montagu Bill, this Indian scheme is by no means satisfactory from our standpoint, it is timidly cautious; no European country could accept it as democratic for itself, even from the bourgeois Liberal standpoint; but even this timid scheme is too extreme for Mr. Montagu and for Mr. Lloyd George's Government.

The essential feature of Mr. Montagu's Bill is that it carefully arranges that all real power shall remain in the hands of the central bureaucracy appointed by the British Cabinet in London. Only a few crumbs of merely permissive power are to be granted to the Provincial administration. The provincial administration will therefore be a mere sham.

The desire for liberty and self-determination which is breaking forth with renewed enthusiasm in every part of India can never be satisfied by such tinkering proposals as those in the Montagu Bill. That measure will not in the least degree allay the discontent which recently culminated in riots against the Rowlatt Act.

Mr. Montagu's Bill will not even make the passage of such measures as the Rowlatt Act illegal, on the contrary, the power of the Indian Government to pass such measures, in defiance of Indian public opinion is carefully safeguarded.

Indians say that the question whether the Government is prepared to give Indians real control over the British Government of their country is to them the acid test of the sincerity of its professed love of freedom for small nationalities. We do not need such a test. We realise that to capitalists the Empire is a business proposition: the subject nations must be made commercially profitable to the capitalists who control the Government, otherwise the capitalists will turn the Government out and replace it by another, until the time comes when the people will step in and abolish the capitalist system. Our Indian comrades complain that the Montagu Bill "only makes insignificant concessions to a corner of the intolerable structure erected by bureaucrats in India." Of course, we expected nothing more. Our Indian comrades say: "It is high time that this nonsense should stop, and that Britain should give to the Indian, people a fifth of the human race, real freedom of self-determination." They say that unless the British Parliament will concede self-determination to India; if Parliament continues to allow the bureaucrats to ride rough-shod over the Indian people "the peace of the world will be endangered." They say that Britain cannot claim credit for "opening to great people free the opportunity of realising its national ambition," and at the same time cleave to that "pound of flesh" which is absolute despotic government. They urge that though a bureaucrat may think it pays to do so, the British democracy ought not to tolerate such devices. They say that unless the British Empire grants self-determination to India, the world will pronounce it an Empire of "opportunists and hypocrits, which talks big of liberty when it suits its self interest to do so."

All that our Indian comrades say is true. As Communists we of course must work for the self-determination of all peoples; India like every other nation has a right to claim the right of self-determination, and, having won it, to choose whether she will remain independent or ally herself with Britain or some other nation. The Russian Communists have given this right to all the nations formerly subject to Russia, and when the Social Revolution comes in Britain, if India has not already won freedom, the British Communists will gladly offer it to her.

It seems to us that India may win self-determination by one of two courses, either by taking it herself, or by a British Revolution extending it to her. As for the Bureaucrats we believe that they will move only so fast or so far as outside circumstances may force them. We are glad to know that the Indian Communists—for there are Communists in India, a proof that India has her share of the most advanced political thought—were represented at the Third International in Moscow.

PROGRAMME OF THE GERMAN SPARTACISTS.

Immediate measures and steps to guarantee the safety of the revolution:—

1. The disarming of all policemen and officers, as well as of all soldiers, who do not belong to the proletariat.

2. The confiscation of all supplies of arms and munitions and all munition works by the workmen's and soldiers' councils.

3. The arming of the whole male population of the proletariat to form a workmen's militia. The organisation of a red guard within this militia as its active body, for the protection of the revolution against all counter-revolutionary plots and conspiracies.

4. The abolition of all power of command hitherto vested in officers and non-commissioned officers, military authority to be supplanted by the voluntary discipline of the soldiers. The election of officers by the men with the right of recall. The repeal of military law.

5. The expulsion of officers and all untrustworthy persons from the soldiers' council.

6. The replacing of all political agents and Government officials by representatives from the workmen's and soldiers' councils.

7. The establishment of a revolutionary tribunal before which those chiefly responsible for the war shall be tried: the Hohenzollerns, Ludendorff, Hindenburg, von Tirpitz, and their fellow-criminals, as well as all the conspirators of the counter-revolution.

8. Immediate confiscation of all food, so as to guarantee the necessities of life to the people.

II.

Political and social measures:—

1. The abolition of all separate states, and the formation of a single united Socialist republic.

2. The abolition of all Parliaments and all communal bodies and the taking over of their functions by workmen's and soldiers' councils and by their agents and committees.

3. The election of workmen's councils throughout Germany by all adult persons, men and women, in the labouring class of the cities and the country, within the separate trades; also the election of soldiers' councils by the men, exclusive of officers and untrustworthy persons. The right of workmen and soldiers to recall their representatives at any time.

4. The election of delegates from the workmen's and soldiers' councils throughout the country to form a central council, which shall choose an executive council invested with all authority, both legislative and administrative. The central council is to meet, for the present, every three months, subject to new elections of delegates for each session. It shall exercise permanent control over the activity of the executive council, and shall keep the various workmen's and soldiers' councils constantly in touch with their highest Government organ. The local councils shall have the right to recall their delegates to the central council at any time when they do not carry out the will of their electors, and to fill their places with others.

5. The right of appointing and deposing all Government officials to be vested in the executive council.

6. The abolition of all class distinctions, orders, and titles.

7. Far-reaching social legislation. The shortening of the working day to six hours at the most, in order to decrease unemployment, and in consideration of the physical degeneration which the labouring classes have suffered through the world war.

8. A speedy and thorough re-organisation of the departments of rationing, housing sanitation, and education in the spirit of the proletarian revolution.

III.

The following administrative measures:—

1. The confiscation of all dynastic property and income and the handing of it over to the community.

2. The repudiation of all public debts and war loans, with the exception of subscriptions up to a certain amount, this amount to be fixed by the central council.

3. The expropriation of large and medium sized estates and the establishment of Socialist agricultural societies under a unified control for the whole country. Smaller agricultural holdings to remain in the hands of the present owners until such time as they shall voluntarily come into the Socialist community.

4. The liquidation of all banks, mines, factories, and large business concerns by the republic.

5. The confiscation of all property beyond a certain maximum, which shall be fixed by the central council.

6. The organisation of councils in each industry, which shall co-operate with the workmen's councils and manage all internal affairs of their respective trades, including labour conditions and regulation of production, and shall finally take over the practical conduct of the business.

8. The appointment of a strike committee which is to co-operate with the trade councils in guiding the strike movement throughout the country in a Socialist direction, and, through the political power of the workmen's and soldiers' councils, assure it of success.

IV.

International tasks:—

As soon as possible connections shall be made with our brother-parties in foreign countries, so that the Socialist revolution may be put on an international basis, and through international fraternisation and the uprising of the proletariat peace may be established and assured.

That is what the Spartacus Group wants. And because we want it, because we are the Socialist conscience of the revolution, therefore we are hated and persecuted and maligned by all open and secret enemies of the revolution and the proletariat.

Crucify them! cry the capitalists who tremble for their money-chests.

Crucify them! cry the middle-class citizens, the officers, the anti-Semites, and the press lackeys of the bourgeois press, who tremble around the flesh-pots of the bourgeois class power.

Crucify them! cry the Scheidemanns who, like Judas Iscariot, have sold the workmen to the bourgeoisie in order to keep their political power.

Crucify them! comes the echo from those deceived and befuddled workmen who do not know that they are fighting their own flesh and blood when they rage against the Spartacus Group.

In hating and maligning the Spartacus Group they can all unite—counter-revolutionists, enemies of the people, anti-Socialists, liars, and those who fear the light. But this only shows that the future belongs to those in whose breast the revolution still lives.

The Spartacus Group does not want to attain power over or through the masses of the working people. The Spartacus Group is only that part of the proletariat which is conscious of its goal and attempts to wake up the broad masses to a realisation of their historic task, which at every stage of the revolution represents the ultimate aim of the Socialists and the solution of national problems in the interests of the proletarian world revolution.

The Spartacus Group refuses to share power with the servants of the bourgeoisie, Ebert and Scheidemann, because it sees in such co-operation nothing but treachery to the essential principles of Socialism, strengthening of the counter-revolution, and paralysing of the revolution.

The Spartacus Group will never take over the power of government except at the behest of the great mass of the proletariat.....

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

"SIGN, PLEASE."

I have always had an admiration for the complete Christian and brotherly trust which exists between man and man under the present system. It is a wonderful system and none but capitalist brains could have invented it. And when one thinks it is built merely on paper, one's wonder increases enormously.

When you sell a horse to a man (if, and when you have a horse), you feel the transaction is never complete unless there is a scrap of paper attached to it. Attached to the bargain, I mean, not to the horse. "Received the sum of umpteen hundred pounds from Henry Dubb, for one whole horse complete, sound in limb and body, and one front tooth missing." That is what is called a good bit of business. Sign, please.

Then there are our Peace Terms to—shall we say—the Amir? Everybody knows who the Amir is. He rules a country called Afghanistan. I don't know how to pronounce it but I guarantee the spelling: Afghan, a kind of nigger Indian, most likely one of those ignorant and debauched Mahommedans with 150 wives: stan, a country. The "i" comes in to give you a chance to breathe.

Well, as I was saying, the Amir invaded India—at least his men did, so we drove them back as we consider India as our peculiar property. Why the Afghans should invade India and whether they actually did so, the Press will tell us. As we cannot read Afghanese, or whatever their language is, we are unable to hear *their* side of the case. But we may take it that *we* are right. We always are. We were a trifle misinformed over the Belgian baby chopped in pieces, the nurse's breasts, the corpse factory, and a few other items of news. But, generally speaking, we are always right—more or less.

So, of course, as we did not want the poor Indians—who, we remember in time are British subjects—to be assassinated, we naturally go for the Afghans. Being a Christian nation we go for them with tanks, Lewis guns, and aeroplanes. I say nothing of mustard gas. And now the Afghans want an armistice.

Everybody is glad that little war is over. We shall now be able to dictate Peace Terms to them, and abolish for ever the curse of Afghan Militarism which threatened to overrun the world. Sign, please.

Thus we come to the interesting question of "doles." I do not intend to drag in the indelicate question of grants to decayed Cabinet Ministers. It were best, also, to look the other way when crafty agitators speak of Lady Maude's £25,000 and Mrs. Cornell's £1 a week. What I mean is of course the enormous unemployment donation of 25*s.* a week paid to working-class shirkers. How they imagine we should go on if the working-class refused to act up to their name is beyond me.

The satirical Scots weekly "Forward" gives the following account, vouched for by Mrs. Chester, Edinburgh, Organiser of the Paper Workers:—

"On Wednesday 14th May, a woman refused a job at housework from 9 to 6, Sundays included, AT TEN SHILLINGS PER WEEK. It was presumed there were two meals, although there were no evidences to that effect, but on her case-paper it was stated her previous earnings were 25/- *per month*. Had this girl not appeared, we could not have got the evidence that she was employed at Hawthorne's for over a year at £2 5*s.* 0*d.* per week, previously at Alexander's, and previous to that again she was five years in Canada, then prior to that she was earning 25/- per month. This woman's case was disallowed, owing to her refusing SUITABLE EMPLOYMENT. It was stated by a very young man, 'an exchange officer,' that *the wage offered was the standard rate.*"

Well, we must expect these things after five years of war. Let no one ask who is paying the rent of such places as Marlborough House, where live the resurrected ex-Empress of Russia (friend of the late lamented Rasputin), and all the Grand-Dukes, plain and coloured. Turn we rather to the following from an evening paper:—

"Will you please sign my application for continued unemployment allowance, as I can get no work," asked a girl of the Willesden magistrate to-day.

"What! a great strong girl like you?" replied the magistrate, "certainly not."

Certainly not, Archibald. Let her get outside and polish the Piccadilly pavement, as the French so nicely have it.

THE BOYLE STRIKE.

Militarism has replaced civil government in Boyle. What passes for law is a police dictatorship. Picketing, hitherto regarded as the legal right of the worker, has been made an indictable offence, and the summonses openly state as a reason for their issuance that the defendant "did watch" a scab shop. Twenty-nine further cases are being heard to-day, and four more arrests have been made for unlawful assembly. The police harass the transport workers' pickets, and threaten to re-summon and thus break the bail.

Never before have I seen a fight conducted with such intensity of feeling. The men are being goaded, and are considering, not a settlement, but reprisals and revenge. A scab was nearly killed the other day, and two police were mauled. The authorities are flaunting their strength in a way that suggests provocation. They are guarding scabs, and parading the town in large numbers. It seems now to be more a battle between the peelers and the workers than between the boss and the worker.

The conditions are indeed desperate and make one "see red." The men are splendid, and the smouldering fire within will not require much more fanning to produce a conflagration. You may think I exaggerate, but never before have I felt such a spirit of revolt, and never before experienced such goading and repression.

The demobilised soldiers are almost unanimously on our side, and they have picked a team of their own to play a T.U. team in aid of the Strike Fund. One of them has been summoned for assaulting a scab.

The union store has been doing well, but the manager was one of to-day's casualties. He was—at least up till recently—a Down Orangeman.

No "class war" propaganda is required here, the division is too well marked to require emphasis or economic explanation.

PAMPHLETS WORTH READING.

	d.
'Independent Working Class Education,' by Eden and Cedar Paul	6
'The Schooling of the Future,' by E. Sylvia Pankhurst	1
'Housing and the Workers' Revolution,' by E. Sylvia Pankhurst	6
'The Birth Rate,' by E. Sylvia Pankhurst ..	1
'Nicholas I.,' by Leo Tolstoy	1
'The Truth about Russia,' by Arthur Ransome	4
'Red Russia,' by John Reed	6
'Red Russia,' by John Reed (Book II.) ..	4
'The Red Funeral at Vladivostok,' by A. Rhys Williams	2
'Questions and Answers about Russia,' by A. Rhys Williams	4
'Hands Off Russia,' by Israel Zangwill ..	2
'Rebel Ireland,' by E. Sylvia Pankhurst, Patricia Lynch and May O'Callaghan ..	3
'Capitalism and the Counter-Revolution,' by J. T. Walton Newbold	4
'The Social General Strike,' by Jack Tanner, based on the work of Arnold Roller ..	2

FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY,
400, OLD FORD ROAD, LONDON, E.3.

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By F. P.

DECREASING OUTPUT.

On Wednesday, June 4th, Sir Auckland Geddes sounded a note of alarm in the House of Commons when he intimated that the output of coal will be enormously decreased when the 7-hour day becomes operative. As a result, a modified Coal Rationing Order would again be operative during the coming winter. Evidence before the Coal Commission shows that even, at present, the output of coal is decreasing although thousands of miners have come back into the mines.

Capitalism knows only too well that its death knell has sounded, and all it *can* do, and all it *is* doing, is to try to postpone the fated hour. As the Coal Commission has so well proven, private property is now a fetter upon the expansion of the roductive forces, and it must give way, sooner or later, to communal property, wherein all will be economic equals. Then and only then, can the miner be appealed to to increase output for the good of the "community," for then the community will represent the people, who are *all* workers. To-day, the interests of the "community" simply mean the interests of the capitalist class. Having control of educational institutions, pulpits, press, and picture palaces, the capitalist class has chloroformed the workers into believing that their interests are identical with those of the capitalist class, called the interests of the "nation." When the miners are out on strike how faithfully do the miserable hacks of the ruling class tell them that they are hitting the rest of the "community" below the belt. Who are composing the "community" in this case? Why, the railway men, the transport workers and the rest of the workers, all of them having their own battles to fight against their respective employers. We know who are the community when the miners are striking, they are the coalowners, who try to force the strikers back to their slavery with the help of the rest of the workers. Only in a Socialist State can the interests of the whole of the people be identical. The capitalist class of this country need to shake, for its doom is nigh. Let its members consider that the workers are becoming intelligent, and that output will go down lower and lower. Capitalism itself brought into being the modern workers, and the continued development of capitalism inevitably educates the workers, and puts into his hand the weapon to overthrow private property.

OUTPUT AGAIN.

Desiring to increase output, which is surely the god of capital, machinery is being introduced into the mines. The coalowners are trying to negotiate with the men for the purpose of fixing piece rates for working with the machines. The men have replied "nothing doing." They know full well that it would be hell to work on a piece-work basis, for the introduction of machinery must intensify labour. "Day work or no machinery" is the reply of the men. The men claim that if machinery be introduced the coalowners must not reap the fruits, but that wages be increased and labour lightened. At one time the textile workers of England smashed the new machines, but to-day the workers are more intelligent and will allow labour-saving machinery to be used provided the workers receive a benefit thereby. In the particular pit in the Rhondda Valley where the machinery is being tested, negotiations are at a standstill, the workmen not consenting to work on piece-work, and the employers fearing that the day rates in this pit will become the basis of payment for the whole coalfield. Coalowners are in a "bit of a hole," wishing to introduce machinery, but afraid they will not reap the harvest. The miner's motto must be: More machinery; less work, and more pay, until capitalism is squeezed out.

THE PRINCE ON THE "TRAIL."

The Prince of Wales is coming to South Wales, and the Rhondda District Council is to show him around. Presumably, he is coming to view the peculiar specie of Rhondda Bolshevik. Already, workers have protested vehemently against the Prince, coming to the Rhondda to look with interest upon the men who produce the wealth that he enjoys. This affair is too much like a trip to the Zoo to look on the interesting monkeys, to be appreciated by any man with a grain of self-respect. What right has the Prince to come here to "look on," he would be welcomed if he were looking for a job, and joined the Union instantly.

The miners have also protested against peace celebrations while we are at war with Russia, while Ireland is burdened by an army of occupation, while everywhere the British Government is seeking to crush all peoples that strive after liberty. We cannot celebrate peace because there is no peace.

ARE WE ALL BOLSHEVIKS.

Collier in pit clothes to another: "Do you think we'll have Bolshevism here?" "Yes, I hope so." First Collier: "Do you know that there are some workmen here that are against Bolshevism." Second Collier: "Get away." F.C.: "Yes, yes, do you see that man we just past, well he's against Bolshevism. Oh, yes, there are one or two, and they are not fit to be called men. Fancy a man who has worked all his life and suffered being against Bolshevism, but never mind there's not many. Do you think they'll beat the Russian Bolsheviks." S.C.: "I hope not." F.C.: "So do I."

Parliament As We See It.

June 2nd.—The rates of wages in the Japanese silk trade, according to Mr. Remer (C.U.), in 1918 were 7½*d.* to 11*d.* per day per man and 4½*d.* to 8*d.* per day per woman. In view of these rates Mr. Remer (C.U.) asked that pressure be brought to bear on Japanese silk manufacturers to pay British trade union wages. The President of the Board of Trade seemed to be in complete ignorance of the facts; but British trade unionists should mark them and weigh them up in the light of the necessity for international co-operation amongst workers.

THAT £250,000,000.

It was agreed to empower the Chancellor of the Exchequer to ask for a fresh loan on behalf of the Treasury. Only £250,000,000, what does that signify! The man in the street is merely dazed by such figures, and the *others* are in the know!

PRE-WAR PRACTICES.

Trade unions agreed to relax certain regulations during the war. Now, instead of the old system being restored automatically, an Act of Parliament is deemed necessary. Is it because of reluctance on the part of the worker or the employer? Sir R. Horne in introducing the measure made the following remark, which is worthy of attention: "*I would not like the House to be under any apprehension that the passing of this measure involves a reversion to pre-war customs which impeded output.*" And Mr. Clynes (Lab.) pointed out approvingly that a limitation of output "is to diminish earnings." Experience has taught trade unionists that a certain limitation of output is necessary. Are not time rates consciously or unconsciously based on the approximate output of skilled workers on piece rates? It *does* seem that *lack* of limitation of output leads to diminish earnings.

RUSSIAN COURT.

June 3rd.—Colonel Wedgwood (L.) drew attention to the invitation extended to Russian officers in England to be presented to the Empress Marie Fedorovna. But the Government is not helping to restore the Czar's regime in Russia; yet it is doing enough to keep its memory green!

LO! THE CONQUERING HERO COMES.

When Germans *speak* to British officers they are required to take off their hats, Mr. Churchill stated. "An Army of Occupation in an enemy country is entitled to certain definite acts of submission and respect from the inhabitants." The penalties for lack of respect were not disclosed to the House!

NOT "HUNS" NOW.

June 4th.—In various Afghan towns aeroplane bombing is being carried on under *British* military directions. But it *only* occurs in the day!

COAL.

A "serious position" is likely to be caused in regard to coal. In order to provide owners with the guaranteed profits of 1*s.* 2*d.* per ton, the deficit of 4*s.* 3*d.* caused by reduced working hours will fall either on the "taxpayer or the consumer." In order to solve the problem Sir Auckland Geddes proposes increasing the price of coal by 4*s.* 6*d.* per ton.

PARLIAMENT INSUFFICIENT.

As a sign of the times the debates on June 3rd and 4th centred round a motion for Federal Devolution. Major E. Wood (C.U.) moved that a Parliamentary body be forthwith appointed to consider the creation of subordinate legislatures to enable the Imperial Parliament to devote more attention to the general interests of the United Kingdom, and matters of Imperial concern. Opinion broadly was agreed that Parliament was insufficient, that too much detail had to be discussed. The Committee system was strongly criticised as making the House of less importance. Mr. Long for the Government strongly favoured the motion; he pointed out that nationality should not be the guiding force in the proposed system. "Times have changed," he urged, "and we have got to change with them"! Quite so; but is not this whole move a palliative to stave off the Soviet idea which is gaining ground? It is undoubtedly a proof that Sovietism is influencing England, even though England is warring against it in its most perfect form as yet realised. Parliamentarism is now making a last stand; are those who are convinced of its futility going to help to hasten its exit? If so, the hour has struck.

COURT MARTIAL FOR SINGING.

June 5th.—John O'Sheehan, Roscommon, was court-martialled and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. His crimes included singing 'The Soldier's Song' and 'The Felons of Our Land,' besides having carried a revolver without a permit, and obstructing the police "in discharge of their duty." He has since been released owing to ill-health. This does not remove the fact that such long terms of imprisonment are imposed for comparatively trifling causes. Its only result can be that "law and order" of that type becomes ludicrous at least to a nation such as the Irish.

INDIA.

There are 315,000,000 human beings whose fate is hanging in the balance, for such is the population of India. Mr. Montagu introduced a Bill giving a kind of Dominion status to India. India is to be helped "on the path of nationality" by this legislation. The franchise basis of this measure is being discussed in these columns, they show how inadequate representation is going to be. Colonel Wedgwood (L.) said—and from the views of advanced Indians he seems to be justified—that "agitation in India will not be ended by this measure." Mr. Spoor (Lab.) opportunely reminded the House that people in Britain had grown rich out of the slaves in India; and Mr. N. McLean (Lab.) strongly criticised how that country had been kept in ignorance. About three farthings per inhabitant was the sum voted for education in India by the British House of Commons. Mr. Montagu was on the defensive against these criticisms. With all the righteousness of the conqueror he affirmed: "We have given to India the best government for one hundred years past and more which devoted Englishmen in the most selfless task in the history of the world could give to that country." But one must ask, *With what right?*

RUSSIA.

June 6th.—"North Russia will become self-supporting before the end of the summer," Mr. Churchill declared in reply to attacks on the British policy or lack of policy in Russia. More than £20,000,000 worth of munitions have been sent to the anti-Bolshevik forces. Mr. Churchill did not apologise to the House in any way for the Government escapade in Russia, without the consent of Parliament. Although continuous questioning in Parliament may show the Government that people see what is going on the more effective methods of the French are most likely to gain a tangible result.

* * *

The House adjourned until Tuesday, June 24th.

M. O'C.

A MESSENGER FROM MOSCOW.

Continued from front page.

German troops are fighting against the Soviets in Esthonia. They are officered largely by ex-officials, landlords and capitalists who lived there under the Czar.

The Communists believe that the Germans by a recent Secret Treaty are pledged to do police duty for the Allies in Russia. In any case it has been made public that, under the Armistice Terms, Germany agreed to keep troops in the parts of Russia she had occupied until the Allies should instruct her to withdraw them. The Peace Terms make the same stipulation.

We asked our comrade whether he could throw any light on the story recently reported in the Press here, that the Allies had shot a Bolshevik woman spy at Yalta. He said that a French woman, Mme. La Bourbe, had been shot by the Allies for attempting Communist propaganda amongst Allied troops. She was the daughter of a French Communade of 1871.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE SOVIET ARMY.

We inquired of our comrade concerning the organisation of the Red Army. This he said was growing in strength and order. But the forms of the old-time Armies are discarded. The officers wear no distinctive marks on their dress. The soldiers under them know them as officers personally and not by any outward sign. The salute is abolished except on parade. In giving an official greeting the officer salutes then the soldier, then both shake hands as friends. The army committees continue: they take no part in military tactics, but deal with local questions, quarters, the mess, literature, and lectures, concerts, discipline, education. They elect the military tribunals which try offences, and the educational commissions which manage the educational courses which the soldiers attend. The officers give orders only in regard to technical military questions. Officers who come from the old armies are accompanied by a commissary appointed by the Soviets and every order must be countersigned by the commissary. New officers developed from the ranks of the proletariat fulfil the duty both of officer and commissiary.

A large number of officers from the old armies is working loyally and enthusiastically in the Red Army. One of these, Veshovsky, was Minister of War under Kerensky and is an excellent member of the general staff. Greatly beloved was Aldvater who was killed this spring and acted as technical adviser to the Russians at Brest-Litovsk. He had worked with successive governments, without regard to their politics, doing what he conceived to be the duty of an officer. When the Bolsheviki came into power he still served, but served unwillingly, because he believed they were self-interested pro-Germans, and went unwillingly to Brest. The negotiations there converted him to admiration for the Bolsheviki: convinced him that the Bolshevik Government was the only good government. He became an earnest and devoted Communist.

The soldiers are paid 200 roubles a month in addition to their keep and the separation allowances of their families who are maintained on a level with the rest of the community. Discharged soldiers unable to work receive pensions like other unemployed persons.

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

(To be continued.)

THE ALLIES AND KOLTCHAK.

The Allied note concerning the recognition of his Government, which they are already helping with munitions, money and men, contains the following provisions:—

Koltchak is to summon a Constituent Assembly, elected on a democratic franchise, as soon as he reaches Moscow. What is a democratic franchise?

The Allies will countenance no attempt to revive the special privileges of any class or order in Russia. Innocent people may think this to be aimed at the aristocrats and the rich, and may ask: Why then has Britain a King and a House of Lords? As a matter of fact we think this is but a subtle way of saying there are to be no Soviets and no dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Allies have noted with satisfaction the solemn declaration made by Admiral Koltchak and his associates that they have no intention of restoring the former land system. This may mean that the land which those wicked Bolsheviki have given to the peasants is not to be returned by the landlords; or it may mean that the old system under which the Russian peasantry possessed some land and dealt with it through their Mir, which existed side by side with orthodox landlordism is to be stamped out as too dangerous an incentive to further Communism.

The Allies say that when they get to Moscow if order is not sufficiently restored as to allow of new elections they will summon the Constituent Assembly of 1917, but *The Times* says that would never do for Lenin and Trotsky were members of it.

WELL DONE SWEDEN.

Will the British Transport Workers Join in?

The Herald reports from Stockholm, June 8th: The Swedish Left Socialist Party has addressed to the Norwegian Socialist Party a proposal that they should approach the Communist and Socialist Parties, the Trade Unions, particularly the Transport and Seamen's Unions in France, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, America, Italy, Austria, Bohemia, and Spain.

The object would be to blockade all countries making war against the lands where the workmen's revolution is victorious, as in Soviet Russia.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

W.S.F.—COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Workers' Socialist Federation at its Annual Conference on Whit-Saturday and Sunday received a recommendation from the Third International in Moscow, that a Communist Party be inaugurated in this country.

A resolution that the name of the organisation be changed in order to make clear that it takes its stand with Russian Communism was already on the Agenda. The Conference decided to adopt the name *Communist Party*, and instructed the newly-appointed Executive Committee to approach other organisations of like tendencies with a view to the formation of a United Communist Party. The newly-elected Executive and Officers are as follows: Miss Burgis, Mrs. Brimley, Mrs. Edmunds, Mr. Edmunds, Miss Hebbes, Mr. Hogben, Miss Lagsding, Mrs. Lauritzen, Miss D. Morley, Mr. Moxon, Mrs. Thring, Mrs. Walker. Hon. Secretary, Sylvia Pankhurst; Hon. Treasurer, Norah Smyth.

The following manifesto was adopted:

The Communist Party expresses its solidarity with the Workers' Revolution in Russia, Hungary, Germany, and other countries, the object of which is the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a Communist order of society. We recognise that the intolerable conditions of life for the toiling masses of this and every country will never be ended except by the workers' revolution.

We recognise that until the workers' revolution has overthrown capitalism in this country, British capitalism will continue to attack the Communist Republics in Russia, Hungary or wherever they are established.

We pledge ourselves to work for a social revolution in Britain, which shall dispossess the capitalists without compensation, save the opportunities open to all other members of the community, and which shall establish a Communist order of society, wherein the land and the industries shall be socialised, and shall be controlled by the workers concerned.

To this end we desire the abolition of Parliament and the present local governing bodies, and the substitution of Workers' Councils on the lines of the Russian Soviets, in which the workers in every branch of industry appoint delegates to represent them, who are instructed by, and must report to those who have elected them, and may be changed at any time.

We recognise that the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the restriction of political power to those who live by their work and not upon accumulated wealth, or by employing others for their private gain, is necessary for the success of the workers' revolution.

We pledge ourselves to work to establish this dictatorship of the proletariat, which must be maintained until capitalism has disappeared and those who were capitalists have become an integral and acquiescent part of the working community.

On the motion of the Sheffield Branch it was resolved that:

The Communist Party, refusing to take part in Parliamentary and Local Government elections, knowing the futility of Parliamentary action, and the confused and artificial character of the Labour Party, instructs such Branches as may be affiliated to the Labour Party, immediately to withdraw, and to agree to support and encourage the formation of Workers' Committees and Soviets.

The Communist Party dissociates itself entirely from the Berne Conference and the pseudo-International Socialist Bureau, as being altogether unrepresentative of true revolutionary Socialism, and with a view to substantiating the revolutionary policy of the Communist Party, we instruct the Executive Committee to take measures to link up with the Third International created by the Russian Communists at Moscow.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUTDOOR.

These are meetings of Protest against Intervention in Russia:—

FRIDAY, JUNE 13th.
Harrow Green, Leytonstone.—6.30 P.M., Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, JUNE 14th.
Great Push against Conscription and Intervention in Russia and for a People's Peace in Hammersmith.—Owing to important conferences in the early part of the day, there will be one meeting only at 7.30 P.M. at the Grove (near both stations). Speakers: Miss Birch, Mrs. Walker, G. C. Bhaduri, Harry Pollitt.

SUNDAY, JUNE 15th.
Piggott Street, Poplar.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., J. G. Stone.
Dock Gates, Poplar.—7 P.M., Guy Aldred. Chair: Mrs. Walker.

FRIDAY, JUNE 20th.
The Square, Woolwich.—12 (noon), Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, JUNE 21st.
Great Push in Holloway District.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, JUNE 16th.
20 Railway Street.—7.30 P.M., Poplar Communist Party Business Meeting. 8.30 P.M., Reading Circle.

FRIDAY, JUNE 20th.
Public Hall, Canning Town.—7.30 P.M., Hands Off Russia Meeting. See advertisement.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

TUESDAY, JUNE 17th.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somer's Road.—3 P.M., Edward Fuller: 'Women and Man-made Law.'

COMMUNIST PARTY——400 OLD FORD ROAD, E3.

A PUBLIC MEETING

will be held at the

PUBLIC HALL, CANNING TOWN
(near the station),
on Friday, June 20th, at 7.30 p.m.
(Doors open at 7 p.m.)

To protest against Allied Intervention in Russia, and to demand the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Russian territory.

Speakers: Jessie Stephens, Melvina Walker, Harry Pollitt. Chair: Sylvia Pankhurst.

Admission Free——Come and fill the Hall.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

KOLTCHAK IN FLIGHT.

The following wireless was sent out by Tchitcherin on May 25th: The Entente is circulating impudent lies about our position. We are said to be on the verge of collapse; it is alleged that Petrograd is about to be taken by the White Guards and that Koltchak is advancing into the heart of Russia. All such lies make a comical impression, since Koltchak is in full flight, and we are advancing against our enemies. The British Government is apparently lying deliberately in order to deceive the public as to the real state of affairs.

NO UNITY AMONGST ANTI-BOLSHEVIKI.

The following wireless was sent out from Moscow on May 26th: In Siberia there are now at least three governments: Koltchak's extending to the Lake of Baikal, Semenoff's to the Lake of Baikal and Manchuria, and Horvat's from Manchuria to Vladivostok. All three are fighting for supremacy and are trying to injure one another's position. Each government issues its own paper money and mobilises its own army. In every place, however, there are Bolshevik detachments. The strongest Bolshevik force is in the Altai mountains on the Mongolian frontier; it is almost 30,000 strong and has already advanced through Semipalatinsk (in the rear of Omsk). It is under the command of Muravieff. This detachment is formed of men from the former front and workers and peasants who have escaped from the atrocities of Koltchak and other Siberian governments. It has ample artillery and munitions. A White Army under command of Annenkov is making vain efforts to stop the advance of Muravieff. Meanwhile the economic situation in Siberia is nearing a catastrophe; the works and mines in the Urals are idle owing to lack of fuel. Even the simplest textiles are unobtainable beyond Omsk. The small tradesmen and the co-operators are speculating without let or hindrance.

[*From the Russian People's Information Bureau.*]

LAMBETH LABOUR PARTY AND THE PRINCE.

The Lambeth Labour Party is asking the Prince of Wales for houses rented at 10*s.* 3*d.* per week to contain parlour, bathroom, scullery, and two bedrooms. Two bedrooms are not enough to accommodate properly the average family, but millions of families cannot afford more than 10*s.* 3*d.* a week in rent.

Communism is the only cure for the housing problem. The Soviet Republics aim at at least one room per adult for every one and housing is socialised, so there is no landlord to pay.

WHAT HAS MRS. BESANT SAID?

It is reported that Mrs. Besant in India expressed approval of the Rowlatt Acts and declared the Government justified in shooting on the people?

In this country she is widely regarded as a champion of the oppressed Indians. Now that she has arrived in England we hope that she will make her position clear.

CORPORATION WORKERS' UNION.

Corporation workers, like the Co-operative workers, find that Labour leaders are as difficult to fight as other employers and that they must be organised separately in order to secure improved conditions. The Trade Union Congress is hostile both to the Co-operative Employees' Union and to that of the corporation workers.

PRESIDENT WILSON AND THE SECRET PEACE TERMS.

"Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view."

This is the first of President Wilson's fourteen points and now he has cabled to America to complain of the publication of the text of the peace terms which has been concocted behind closed doors. It is an aggravation of the Versailles secret diplomacy that an official version of the Peace Terms has been published, and, but for the fact that the gossips at the conference have said that important things are concealed, the people would have continued believing that all that mattered in the Terms was in the official version. The U.S. Senate has shown more spirit than the British Parliament by deciding to publish the Peace Treaty which reached it through the medium of a Chicago newspaper correspondent.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS.

Classified advertisements one penny per word. Displayed advertisements 7s. 6d. per inch. Pre-pay and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster.

VOTE FOR THE CHILDREN'S BIRTHRIGHT.—15*s.* a week to every child in our midst as proudly welcomed citizens till they reach the age of 21 years, and £1 a week for everyone at 60.
MacKenzie-Kennedy Advert.

WANTED. LADY ORGANISER for The Cigarette Makers' Trade Union. Must be well acquainted with the Labour Movement. Good References required. Apply C.M.T.U., 437, Commercial Road, London, E.1.

LEANEY'S LTD.,
WHOLESALE NEWSAGENTS.
City Agent for the Workers' Dreadnought
9 and 10, ST. BRIDE'S AVENUE, E.C.4.
(Late City and Suburban Publishing Co.)

Why not Unemployment Benefit for ALL Children until they are strong enough to Work and old enough to Vote? [Advert.

FOR 2/6 POST FREE.
THREE MARVELLOUS PUBLICATIONS
ON BIRTH-CONTROL.
Thoughtful Working-class People are following the lead of the Upper Classes and getting wise on Limitation of Family.
From J. W. GOTT, Secretary, LIBERATOR LEAGUE, 61, DORSET ST., BRADFORD.

Printed by J. E. Francis, 11 and 13 Bream's Buildings, London, E.C.4, and Published by the Communist Party, at 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.